

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. 2. No. 18.]

London, Saturday, 6th November, 1802.

[Price 10d]

CONTENTS.—*Reading Ball*, 545. *Let. Amsterdam*, 548. *Ext. M. Chron.* 554. *Tr. bet. Fr. Pru. and Bavaria*, 559. *Note M. Hugel*, 560. *Lugano*, 561. *Ligurian Rep.* 561. *Switz.* 552, 563, 564. *Ext. from the Moniteur*, 565. *Summary of Politics*, 568. *Switzerland*, 569. *Royalists*, 570. *Ext. Mr. Pitt's Speech*, 574.

545]

[546

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

Naturally desiring to make our connexions as extensive as possible, for the sake of intelligence, we are happy that the article, which we copied from the *Morning Post*, relative to Mr. Addington's ball at Reading, has procured us a new correspondent, and we hope for a continuation of his favours. Mr. Tietenser will permit us just to hint, that he seems to have taken up the matter a little too seriously, though his anger is highly honourable to his feelings of friendship. Upon one point we cannot forbear expressing the very great satisfaction which we have received from the following letter. It would have been an unpardonable mockery and profanation, a cant of hypocrisy no less foolish than impious, had Mr. Addington in the most distant manner, represented the treaty of Amiens as a blessing from Divine Providence, at the very moment, when he was on the point of declaring, that, after an experiment of less than six months, he himself finds that treaty to be incompatible with our safety and independence; and instead of a blessing, to be one of those visitations of divine wrath, by which the destruction of a fated people is sometimes prepared, through the instrumentality of the weakest and most contemptible creatures among them.

Reading, Nov. 2, 1802.

Sir,—As an inhabitant of Reading, and a friend of the minister, whose "respectability" has been repeatedly testified even by you, certainly not one of his greatest admirers, I call upon your justice to allow me a corner of your next number, in consequence of a letter in your last, which you professed to have copied from the *Morning Post*.

The conduct of that newspaper, Sir, with regard to Mr. Addington, has been particularly unjustifiable. It has been marked by that kind of unfair license which the pretended "*Lover of Truth and Decorum*," with so much reason, whether he meant it or not, has censured and condemned. Not once or twice only, but almost perpetually, it has been made "the vehicle of grave and

"circumstantial misrepresentations." What a strange liberty was taken, not only with the name of that gentleman, but with that of a whole fraternity of worshipful men, no longer ago than last Michaelmas day. Did not that editor, for two or three days together, fill half his columns with notices and paragraphs about a goose feast at Apothecaries' Hall, in honour of Mr. Addington and the peace? And when this was formally contradicted, in a paper dated from the hall itself, had he not the impudence, in opposition to this grave authority, to forge a contradiction to that contradiction, and sign it with a long string of fictitious stewards? Of a piece with this, was another silly attempt, which was made about the same time, from the same quarter, to impose on the credulity of the public, When the state of Europe required all the attention and vigilance of our cabinet, and every body knew that they were constantly meeting; when Mr. Addington's assistance was indispensably necessary to his worthy colleague Lord Hawkesbury, in settling the commercial arrangements that were to secure our navigation and trade from the insidious machinations of our rivals on the other side of the water; when, I will take upon me to say, Sir, that no minister, the most careless of his duty, much less such a minister as Mr. Addington, could have stirred from Downing Street even to Richmond Park, a ridiculous story was malignantly told, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, forsooth, was amusing himself with playing the part of the lowest Custom-house officer, chasing Kentish smugglers, and seizing moonshine, mundungus, and smouch. To be sure there was much affected praise of his generosity in giving up his proportion of the good things which thus fell to him, but this I have not the smallest doubt was meant as a sly allusion to the Clerkship of the Pells, which he so prudently secured for our present young captain. Well then, could you have supposed it? After all this unwarrantable indulgence of fancy, a plain, literal, harmless fact, which was witnessed by hundreds, is to be called into question. How can the reader of that prostituted

journal know, in future, what to believe, or disbelieve? For my part I can hardly credit that it has so extensive a sale as it boasts!

Suffer me now, Sir, to consider a little the mock arguments that are produced against the reality of our late ball. It is represented, truly, as a gross blunder to pay the people the compliment of being the authors of the peace "just at the moment" when they are beginning to be heartily "ashamed of it." A pretty sort of blunder indeed! On the contrary, if it be true, that the people really are beginning to be ashamed of the peace, I cannot conceive any finer stroke of policy, than for Mr. Addington, at that very moment, to persuade them, if he can, that it is not his shameful work, but their own. As to the coarse sarcasm levelled at the "vigour of the present government" I shall only say, that I trust no man of common sense will value it three skips of a "flea." Mr. Addington's speech, however, is said to have been a repetition of an old House of Commons address. Perhaps it may, Sir: it sounded, I confess, to my thinking like something I had read. Did the writer imagine then, that we are such country bumpkins at Reading, as to be ignorant that what is called an address of the House of Commons is the language of the minister himself? And pray what language should a man use but his own? Aye! but truly it was bad taste to talk on such a subject to "an audience of dancing" "misses and negus-swiggng fiddlers." As if, truly, the young ladies whom this anonymous assassin (I wish they had him within the reach of their nails) so flippantly calls "dancing misses," had nothing to do with the subject. War, Sir, almost to a proverb, makes husbands scarce; and surely the ladies of Reading, like all others, may be allowed to feel a little interest in a peace. The other part of the audience, to which an objection is captiously made, are necessary persons at a ball, and if they swigg negus only, they are likely to keep themselves sober, which is not the case with the noisy, riotous crew, hiccapping out pricked port and brandied sherry at the Shakespeare Tavern; to whom certain parliamentary seceders are in the habit of addressing those harangues, that for ten years together, have been so ostentatiously detailed in the Morning Post.

You expressed a desire, Sir, to ascertain the fact respecting our ball. It was simply this. The Doctor (I mean the father of my friend Mr. Addington) had a great number of pa-

tients, of a certain description, as is well known, in this neighbourhood; and no doctor ever sent out more cured, whatever malicious people may say. Some of these, wishing to show their gratitude, first started the idea of paying a compliment to his son, on the occasion of the preliminaries of peace. The ratification, however, not coming as was expected, the moon, which governs all these meetings with us in the country, was a little too much in the wane for that month. Parliament met, and the definitive treaty hung on hand till the season for balls was past. At the commencement of the present season, the persons who had first set it on foot, thinking it better late than never, resolved to pay the compliment to Mr. Addington, at a time when he was perfectly at leisure to be present. This, Sir, is the plain unadorned tale. The account which has been given, I can seriously assure you, is substantially true: only I must correct one trifling error. Mr. Addington is too good and religious to have so lightly taken the name of God in vain. With his known candour, he said that he was an humble instrument, not in the hands of Divine Providence, but of Mr. Pitt's prudence. The origin of the mistake is a little ludicrous.

I hope I have not been too harsh in my comments upon the pretended *Lover of Truth and Decorum*. His letter is dated from this place. It is unpleasant to mention names, where there is not positive proof; yet I cannot help hinting that there is, not a hundred miles from this place, a certain unpopular character, commonly distinguished all over this country by the name of *Massacre*; and we are very well informed here what visitors were at his house at the time. For my own part I shall not conceal myself under a feigned signature. My name and family have been long publicly known in this place. I am, Sir, your obedient humble Servant,

J. Tietenser.

TO THE EDITOR.

Amsterdam, 26th Oct. 1802.

SIR,—About 14 months ago, I was informed by a friend at Paris, that the British Ministry were upon the eve of concluding a peace with the French Consulate. Alarmed at the terms, I wrote, on the 1st day of September 1801, a letter, wherein I sketched out the then visible consequences that were inevitably to ensue—the said letter was inserted in the Times of the 23d September, under the title, "*Reflections on a Peace with*

549]

France." If you will, Sir, take the trouble to read it over, you will, I presume, allow, that I had some knowledge of the characters with whom your ministers were negotiating; and you will then perhaps excuse the liberty I take in addressing to you the few following remarks upon the *present* state of affairs.*

MR. EDITOR,—For this some time past, particularly since the armed insurrection in Switzerland, we have been amused with the grumbling, shouting, and howling of John Bull; all the late cordial confidence in the Prime Consul, seems to have rusted into distrust and jealousy; that pacific republic, which, but the other day, was held out by the British Ministry in the midst of a deluded Parliament, as on its knees before the altar of Jesus Christ soliciting reconciliation with God and man, is now, in all your public papers, represented in its *natural* Jacobin attitude. Pray, Sir, by what supernatural power has this wonderful change in the construction of John's eyes been brought about? We dare swear, that, from the innermost recesses of Buonaparté's soul, to the public demeanour of his meanest subject, there is not a hair-breadth of change, neither in the *religion, morality, nor in the politics* of France, since the 26th Oct. 1792, to this 26th Oct. 1802. In 1792, the *creed* of every Frenchman in France, was, "*que les rois sont dans l'ordre moral, ce que sont les monstres dans l'ordre physique.*" The Jacobin Club canonized Ankerström for having delivered the world of one; and decreed, that the *Divinité* was the author of the *droit de l'homme*, by which code all kings should be extirpated. The first position is, Sir, the creed of nineteen twentieths of the people of France at this moment; and Buonaparté has assumed to himself the honour allowed to the *Divinité* in the third.

To see in all your London papers long chapters upon the terrors of Buonaparté, upon the opposition of the French to his measures, upon the bravery and patriotism of a deluded rabble in Switzerland, and upon the present military spirit of Austria,

* Before we received this intimation, our attention had been directed to the *Letter in the Times*, and, from its language and sentiments, we at once concluded, that it was written by our valuable correspondent "SWENSKA," through whose means we were enabled to communicate to the public the projected new division of Germany, ten days before the ministers themselves were acquainted with it. (See p. 129.) The same correspondent obliged us with another letter (See p. 335.), which contained some excellent remarks.—His letter in the *Times* we shall re-publish in our next sheet.

sickens common sense! It is extremely distressing to see, that that deadly ignorance which pervades every country on the continent of Europe, should have overshadowed Great Britain also! Do, Sir, for the sake of your country, tell your men charged with its preservation—that no man was ever more master of his own household than Buonaparté is master of the French Republic. A *parole d'ordre*, will, at any moment, raise the nation in a mass; and march them to murder Swiss, Germans, Turks, Russians, or even their friend Mr. Addington, without a grumble; nor will officer, soldier, peasant, or mechanic, ever ask or care where they are going nor with whom they are to fight. Instead of being satiated with revolution and war, both are become necessary aliments to that ferocious community. The Swiss rabble do not merit the sympathy of their neighbours, nor if they did, could any power or powers save them, if the Consul has a mind to subdue their country. Austria is no longer a military power; that country has neither government, money, nor bread: the Austrians and Hungarians must either turn out and new-model their present ministry, or that ministry will deliver them into foreign subjection.

What we have here stated, are real and *bona fide* facts: and if Lord Hawkesbury has different information, he is imposed upon. His lordship's diplomatic agents abroad are, with few exceptions, poor insignificant gentry; their reports cannot be depended on—they have no means of obtaining information. In friendly countries, while there were countries friendly to Great Britain, your missions, for many years, especially during the revolution, have been generally filled with men who have given to us foreigners very ridiculous ideas of John Bull. We might refer you to many gentlemen on his lordship's diplomatic list, who could give the most unequivocal testimony, that, had there not been a premeditated plan to insult the several sovereigns of Europe, and to hold up John Bull as a most indecent animal to the derision of foreigners, they had never been sent out of their country.* Ignorance,

* These remarks, though severe, are but too well founded. What are, with some very few exceptions, our present, or, indeed, generally, our late diplomatic corps? Are they like the diplomatic corps of any other nation? The powers of Europe send *great men* as ambassadors; men fit to be ministers *at home*. America sends the leading members of her *Congress*; her chief justice, her governors of states; in fact, the *greatest* men in the country, instead of the *least*.—It was an even chance whether CHARLES BELZON, Esq. was employed

mean ostentation, immorality, and awkward espionage, are the leading characteristics of British modern diplomacy: they can give you no account of foreign states, for foreign statesmen cannot have any confidential intercourse with men whom common decency obliges them to despise. Your ministers at home, as well as their agents abroad, run after and cringe to men; they know nothing of real circumstances. If the Emperor change a *laquais*, or Madame Buonaparté take a new chamber-maid, all the roads of Europe are covered with British couriers, and a dozen of frigates are set off without provisions, to announce to the world the prevalence of the *British party* in all the cabinets of Europe! Poor old England! are you now come to that? Your existence depending upon the change of a Russian secretary! Mr. Editor, if you thought some of your little folks would not be angry, you might perhaps render a service to your countrymen, if you told them, that the political existence of the British Empire depends upon *changes nearer home*.

Mr. Editor, we foreigners consider the situation of Great-Britain, as she stands in relation to Europe and America, to be as follows:—At the commencement of the revolution Great-Britain stood high in the opinion of the world; all other powers looked up to His Britannic Majesty as universal umpire in all their disputes. Mr. Pitt's armed mediation in the Russian, Swedish, and Turkish quarrel, being thwarted by that Westminster patriot, Mr. Fox, (which produced the final partition of Poland, to the eternal reprobation of that political demagogue), diminished for a moment the reputation of the British Government. Their interference against the French, and their paltry mercantile quarrels with the Neutral States, rendered the British Ministry unpopular on the Continent, until the French Revolution assumed its hideous attitude; then the terrified world turned towards the British standard and looked to Mr. Pitt. America, at one time, only waited his orders to declare against France,* by which St. Domin-

in breaking my windows, or in representing His Majesty at some foreign court! The means and motives, which lead to the admission of the far greater part of the members of our diplomatic corps, would form a most curious and diverting collection of anecdotes in low life.—EDITOR.

* For the truth of this fact the Editor can vouch; and the neglect of such an opportunity was amongst the great blunders of the war.—The co-operation of America offered, perhaps, no barrier for Mr. Dundas's labours.

go would have been for ever secured to England, without Mr. Dundas's *twenty millions* of money, and without the ten thousand men, who so ingloriously perished under the medicaments of General Maitland's surgeons.—The lesser Northern States of Europe solicited, begged, and prayed to be taken under your protection—the demands of Prussia were rational, fair, and necessary; those of Russia, such as every person who knows any thing of such matters knew that you could not oppose. It was therefore, the duty of a British Minister to have co-operated with those powers, against the common enemy of all legitimate government. You had the trade of the world in your hands, and all the European settlements abroad under your guns; you might have distributed them as best suited your interests; and you could have guaranteed your distribution, by keeping a sufficiency to maintain your navy: you had Malta, it was an effectual barrier between France and Russia; you had the Cape and Surinam which secured to you Hindostan and Brazil. And what could France have done? burst her bowels by the venom her stomach could not otherwise have vented. So you stood, Sir, at the head of the civilized world, every government in it, ready to receive any rational proposition from the Court of England.—How do you stand now, Mr. Editor?—A *deserted insulated nation*; in the opinion of every reflecting man—doomed to inevitable destruction, and pitied by nobody. The outworks of your country in the hands of your mortal enemies, and your colonies under the guns of those works. Requiring an annual income of more than 30 millions, and depending on the trade of those very colonies for that sum; requiring an annual supply of several millions of foreign corn, and your enemies holding the keys to all the granaries. The necessities of life at a price which must sooner or later prevent entirely the exportation of your manufactures; and your public credit depending upon the uniform in which the sharp sighted Mr. Merry may chance to see one of Buonaparté's household servants. And the British ministry will pretend to interfere in the affairs of Switzerland, or of any other country!! Do, for heaven's sake, Sir, advise them to be quiet and civil. By the genius of Buonaparté, and by the contempt which Europe and America bears for Great-Britain, conjure them to be quiet.—Where, in the name of common sense, has the peace left you a point of attack? Are Buonaparté's settlements to be surprized as those of the King of France

and States-General were? And are not every one of your foreign possessions at his discretion, in spite of all the powers you can muster? You say the army of St. Domingo are all dead. They were very obliging to conquer that great country before they got sick. Mr. Merry found in Buonaparté's intercepted letters, that the army of Egypt was eaten entirely up by the monsters of the Nile; and upon that able translator's authority, Mr. Canning proclaimed the glad tidings in the House of Commons. Perhaps the ambassador may have written to Lord Hawkesbury (for he writes plenty) that now is the time to recover St. Domingo*. But, say you, Austria will join us; and Alexander will open his eyes! Sir, Austria being governed by men something like your own, that court is capable of any folly, and of more than mere folly; as to Alexander's eyes, it is better you would *take care of the objects on which they are fixed* than confide in their being shut.

Mr. Editor, if you will preserve old England, 1st. Put English blood, old English honesty, candour, and courage, at the head of affairs. 2d. Offer to Russia your co-operation in securing to her those possessions and commercial channels which she must have, and which she will take independent of you, and laugh at John if he grumbles. Make a fair and reasonable proposition to America. These two states secured, not by your gold nor contemptible intrigues, but, by national interests, you may still secure the British empire, and confine France within certain given bounds. But by no other means nor combination of powers will you be able to resist the universal coalition which France and Russia are arming against your dominions.

Pray, Mr. Editor, give us Hollanders your opinion candidly on one question, to wit: If the terms of the treaty of Amiens had been laid before the British Parliament and British public, *before* they were accepted and sanctioned by his Majesty's Ministers, do you think that *any one member* of that Parliament or public would have advised his Majesty to accept them? When we hear your opinion we shall be better able to judge of your fate.

Swenska.

* Had Gen. Abercromby come home he would have told another story—and so will perhaps the Governor of Jamaica, when Buonaparté thinks proper to send him over.

Remarks on the Article in the Moniteur (see p. 565), extracted from the Morning Chronicle of the 2d instant.

The official Journal of the 29th contains an article the most extraordinary which we ever read under any shape even of warlike manifesto. The formalities of dispatching an ambassador to our court, to maintain a peace so lately concluded appear to have inspired an effusion of malignity against the British nation, in which the whole fury and frenzy of the revolution have been reduced into a quintessence, intended as it were as the final instructions and *vade mecum* of the representative of his Consular Majesty. The rage and hostility which, according to the rules of diplomacy, should have been laid up in *instructions secretissimes* are here divulged in the official Journal. If General Andreossi has any instructions to do his utmost to maintain the peace, they must have been communicated in the private audience with his sovereign!

This document, we are strongly inclined to think, is from the pen of Citizen Haute-rive, a person high in the office of foreign affairs. It is an abridgement of a pamphlet he published two years ago. It is impossible to imagine more falsehood, more contempt of truth, perversion of history, more national animosity, more absurdity, more contradiction condensed in a column and a half than this paper exhibits. It is written in a stile that seems most happily calculated to rouse the generous indignation of the people of England. If there be a man among us who could have entertained a doubt of the profound hatred which Buonaparté's government bears to the English nation;—if there be a man among us who could for a moment hear with complacency, who could for a moment be deceived by the insidious cant of friendship which has sometimes marked the levee language of Buonaparté, he must now be disabused.

The Moniteur affects to direct his invectives against the English press, but disdaining such little game, he soon advances to the assault, not only of the English ministry, but of the English nation. It is not present or late malversations that are arraigned, but the system of England for a century is attacked as low and vulgar in itself and pernicious to Europe. From King William to Lord Chatham none is spared; and, with reason, the ardour of this writer's resentment is most inflamed against those who were most successful in stemming the torrent of French ambition, and preserving

the liberties of Europe. The reproaches against the late ministry, are too just sarcasms on their wretched attempts to oppose the aggrandisement of France.

The main object of this compend of French policy towards England is, that with regard to past events, we never interfered in Europe but for its destruction; that at present we have no right to interfere at all. It states the shameful truth, that we have no allies on the Continent; and as the Elector of Hanover has adhered to the Franco Russian plan of indemnities, it is asserted that we can have no right whatever to inquire in what manner the different powers on the Continent settle their marches, or, as Citizen Hauterive quaintly terms it, their *interets limitrophes*. "The relations of France and England are the treaty of Amiens—the whole treaty of Amiens—nothing but the treaty of Amiens." So says Citizen Hauterive, and so says Buonaparté.

Whether it be true, as here asserted, that the English government "does not complain," of what passes in the countries, the French governments of which it has not recognised, we shall not pretend to determine. That we have a right to complain, we assert and will endeavour to shew. If ministers in the plenitude of their submission at Amiens, chose not to insist upon satisfaction as to the state of continental affairs, even they, far less the English nation, are not precluded from insisting that the French government in time of peace shall not continue to add province upon province, kingdom upon kingdom, republic upon republic, to the dominions of the republic. We ever thought these arrangements were of more importance, even to us, than a sugar or a spice island; and if the last war had been begun, or conducted on proper principles, might have been continued for such objects—prudence, upon a fair comparison of circumstances, recommending the policy. To have continued the war in the way it was conducted, would have been madness.

But surely the intervention of a treaty, regulating the immediate, separate, local, and personal interests of France and England, cannot be supposed to exclude us from the right which independently, and contrary to all treaties, we possess, of taking precautions for our own safety, against an enemy that unequivocally points at our ruin. Can it be necessary to shew that principles of self-preservation command us to interest our-

If France, aggrandizing herself at the expense of others, is only preparing to attack us with renewed force, are we bound by any separate arrangements to consent to our own destruction by acquiescing in that of our neighbours? There is a right founded in neighbourhood and common defence, which no treaty can take away, and by which all states are entitled to make common cause against common aggression.

"The western nation" (Buonaparté's anti-chamber cant is become diplomatic cant) is pacified! Pacified! as a man stunned by a blow is pacified! How comes it that General Buonaparté conceives himself entitled alone, "personally," as it were, to consult and to act for the interest of the great Western Family? Is England *foras-familiated* so completely, as to have nothing of common interest or tie of consanguinity? It surely is not because England forms an island (by the way the French, we suppose in compliment to Buonaparté, "personally," now, say nothing in disparagement of islanders) that she is cut off from any communion of interest with the Italians, the Germans, or the Swiss? Mark the consistency of Citizen Hauterive. *Stuporem hominis vel dicam pecudis attendite*. Russia has a right to interfere—Great-Britain has not; Russia is generous in her interference; but what *interets limitrophes*; what boundaries has she to settle with the French Republic? Has Russia more interest in assisting or opposing the views of France, in robbing the Emperor of Germany or preventing his being robbed, though placed at so vast a distance, than England, that is separated from France only by a ditch, as the *Moniteur* formally stiled the channel? Must Russia have more sympathy with the oppressed, more interest in protecting the weak, and overawing the proud, than we who see our own fate prepared in the ruin of our ancient allies? We have not recognized the Italian Republic, but are the inhabitants of so fine a portion of Italy to be quite indifferent to us, because we do not choose to recognize the extravagancies of the Consul President's desperate ambition? They are part of the Great Family, and what right has Buonaparté to rob them of their portion, their name, their character, their independence? What right has he (in defiance of the treaty of Lunéville) to interfere with Helvetia, whose genuine national government he refuses to acknowledge? We do not recognize the King of Tuscany! It would have been infamous to have recognized him. We had relations with the Grand Duke of Tuscany; and



when the Emperor agreed for his brother to cede Tuscany, it was for a compensation. But how has the indemnity been made good? Has not the Emperor complained of violated compact; and ought we to enter into relations with the puny, illegitimate sovereign of Buonaparté's creation, while he usurps the inheritance of the lawful sovereign with whom we had relations? Must we recognize, as France, every thing which France seizes by fraud or violence? Are we not, by our ancient relations with the King of Sardinia, entitled to ask, by what right France has robbed him of Piedmont? Did Great-Britain never interfere in the affairs of the Continent but when she had a direct territorial right? In truth, we fear that our interest in Hanover (which by the way is not necessarily an English interest) has, on some occasions, from a timid policy, led us to wave English rights and English interests. It has created a pernicious dependence, instead of inspiring a liberal interest, and we suspect had no very favourable influence on the terms of the treaty of Amiens. What direct interest had we in the war of the succession? Did Europe then think our interference degrading? Did the Emperor of Germany feel our aid destructive, when an English army saved his crown in the glorious battle of Blenheim? Although our relations with France may be narrowed by the abrogation of treaties, treaties which give us common interests with continental powers remain, and what is more, common interest, the only solid basis of treaties and of equal authority, with them remain. Guided by these we are still called upon to resist the continental aggressions of France. Destitute of allies now, the wrongs which France daily commits will be the inducements of new alliances, not giving a right, but declaring a resolution to withstand the destructive ambition of a foe, now so undisguised. If circumstances should be favourable, should powerful, determined allies seek our assistance, it would become a question of prudence whether we should join their cause, but the right could never be disputed.

Buonaparté has declared aloud the principles on which he condescends to hold relations with us. The Treaty of Amiens is the only code. Out of that record we must not travel. We must tamely view all his invasions of independent states—see him mature his schemes of aggrandisement. He has imposed sufficient barriers to our interference in fact, but it is too much to

insist upon so universal an abandonment of our common right in the concerns of the Great Western Nation.—How far and where ministers remonstrate against the First Consul's proceedings, we cannot tell; but we are sure that no honest minister of England will ever so far degrade his country as to acknowledge the now advanced pretensions. Circumstances may lead us to overlook what we cannot prevent—but if we basely look on with indifference on the ruin of independent nations, our own merited ruin cannot be distant.

But it is not the late ministers only that fall under the lash of Citizen Hauterive. The "respectable Mr. Addington," the present "prudent administration," does not escape. The maritime code of this country is again arraigned; our maxims which, right or wrong, are certainly very old, are said to be unheard of, and the battle of Copenhagen, which took place under Mr. Addington's auspices, is called a massacre! We know not by what rule of judgment that battle is tried and pronounced a massacre. It certainly bore no resemblance to the massacre of the Swiss in 1798. That was, indeed, a massacre. It was unprovoked; it was murder perpetrated for the purposes of robbery—France wanted to seize the treasures of Berne, which were actually employed to pay the expenses of the expedition to Egypt. Buonaparté, indeed, should know the difference between a battle and massacre!

It is asserted that France and Russia will maintain the peace of the Continent. We hope, however, that Russia will endeavour to maintain peace, not by yielding every thing to France, but by keeping her within bounds. The policy of the present ministry of that country is not sufficiently developed, but surely this is the true policy of their country. France, and Russia too, it is said, will be able to counteract the efforts of the restless spirits to whom the policy of the newspapers is ascribed, should the influence of their libels produce the removal of our present prudent ministry!—Here is a pretty open threat against any attempt to change the ministry. We congratulate the respectable Mr. Addington on his powerful protector! We see very well Buonaparté's ideas of the men who would confine our policy to our own island, and would never interfere with his grand continental schemes—men who would look to the Treaty of Amiens, nothing but the Treaty of Amiens!

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Treaty between the French Republic, Prussia, and Bavaria.

The First Consul of the French Republic and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, having offered their mediation for the arrangement of the affairs of Germany, and having made known to the Imperial Diet, by their declaration of the 18th August, 1802, the indemnities which they thought should be adjudged to each Prince in consequence of the 7th article of the Treaty of Luneville; His Majesty the King of Prussia hastened to conform to the plan presented, and in taking possession of the states adjudged to him, confined himself scrupulously within the limits assigned in the declaration. His Majesty the Emperor of Germany having on his side announced the intention of causing its different possessions to be occupied, His Majesty the King of Prussia, the First Consul, and the Emperor of Russia, have spontaneously hastened to make known to him, that it was not at all becoming that his troops should pass the limits assigned by the declaration, or that they should occupy any territory but that appointed for the indemnification of the Archduke Ferdinand.

Yet, without regard either to this declaration made collectively at Paris to the Imperial Ambassador by the minister of the three powers, nor to that which has been made at Berlin by the Count de Haugwitz to M. de Stadion, the Austrian troops have taken possession of Passau, and His Imperial Majesty has informed the Diet by his Plenipotentiary, that he would not withdraw his troops, unless the countries occupied by the other Princes were in like manner evacuated, which is an indication that His Imperial Majesty sets no value on the declaration of the mediating powers, and that he regards it as void.

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia, and the First Consul of the French Republic, engage themselves to reiterate in concert at Ratisbon and Vienna, their efforts, to cause the plan presented to be adopted by the Germanic Body, and to be ratified in its whole extent, but particularly so far as it guarantees to the Elector of Bavaria the preservation of his possessions on the right bank of the Inn, as far as it secures to him the town of Passau.

And if, contrary to their hopes, and their united interposition, His Majesty the Emperor, taking advantage of the possession of Passau, should refuse to evacuate it within the period of sixty days appointed for the deliberation of the Imperial Diet, the governments of Prussia and France pledge themselves to combine their efforts with those of Bavaria, to secure to the latter the preservation of her ancient domains on the right of the Inn, as well as the possession of Passau, and the entire indemnity which has been adjudged to her.—Done at Paris, 18 Fructidor, year 10, Sept. 5, 1802.—(Signed)—*Talleyrand*.—*Marquis de Lucchesini*.—*Cetto*.

Note addressed by the Imperial Plenipotentiary to the Deputation, informing them of his accession to the Conclusums of the 16th.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Imperial Majesty discovers, in the two conclusums that have been communicated to him on the part of

the Deputation of the Empire, propositions well calculated to prepare the speedy and definitive arrangement of the objects reserved by the Treaty of Luneville for a particular convention. Always ready to contribute, on his part, with a sincere zeal to that speedy arrangement, he has in pursuance of these propositions, under a restriction, however, conformable, no doubt, to the intentions of the Deputation, respecting the administration of the objects assigned as indemnities to the Counts of the Empire, addressed without delay a letter, a copy of which is annexed, to the Duke of Wirtemberg and the Margrave of Baden; as likewise the two notes, copies of which are annexed, to the ministers of the Mediating Powers.

Ratisbon, 18th Oct. 1802. (Signed) Baron de Hugel.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Constantinople, Sept. 18.—The numerous troops disbanded by Paswan Oglou, have occasioned new disturbances by their depredations in Bulgaria. Paswan Oglou has been applied to by the Porte to extirpate them.—The Grand Signior has forbidden any speculations in money, under pain of corporal punishment, and has fixed the Dutch ducats of 7½ piasters again at six, and the Austrian of 6, at 5, as before the war.—The plague has now ceased throughout the Turkish Empire.—The French chargé d'affaires, Citizen Ruffin, in a particular audience, has notified to the Grand Signior the appointment of Buonaparté to be Consul for life; and has received magnificent presents for himself, his lady, and his interpreter, Franchini.—Lord Elgin has arrived here from the Grecian islands, to which he lately made a voyage.

Vienna, Oct. 16.—The Emperor has prohibited M. De Cobentzel, Vice-Chancellor, from receiving letters addressed to him by the chiefs of the armed assemblies of Berne. His Imperial Majesty has manifested a desire that tranquillity should be promptly re-established in Switzerland, and shews a full confidence in the part taken by the First Consul, to restore repose to that unfortunate nation, to place it in a way of enjoying its independence, and resuming, at length, its rank, amongst the powers of Europe.—[We doubt this.]

Strasbourg, Oct. 18.—An attempt was made in the night between the 16th and 17th inst. to introduce into the French territory near Argolsheim, more than 100 bales of muslin, reputed English. The officers of the customs were on their guard, and a violent combat ensued, in which a lieutenant of the customs was killed, and two persons employed under him dangerously wounded: the smugglers lost, on their side, a chasseur. The conductors, however, having lost their way, the goods were afterwards seized and the persons who were with them arrested.

Copenhagen, Oct. 19.—The re-establishment of a good understanding between Denmark and the Regency of Tripoli has been purchased, it is said, for a much less price than was formerly paid in similar circumstances. The negotiations, even after the arrival of the Danish squadron before Tripoli, lasted eight days, and were only brought to a happy conclusion by the commandant, Koersod, making serious dispositions to attack the town.—The peace has been signed for six years.

Berne, Oct. 20.—Berne has deputed to the Consulta of Paris, M. M. de Mulier, De Watteville, Delanshut, Tchaning, of Ramlingen, and Col

Manerwadel, of Leitzbourg. They will not repair to their destination but in company with the deputies from the other Cantons. General Bachmann, and the superior officers of the Confederate Army, are all gone from Berne, but it is proper to state that, that army entirely emptied the arsenal of Berne; there remain only some pieces of large calibre which could not be carried away.—The confederates, though they seemed to disband themselves, are still under arms—the Diet of Schwitz also continues its sittings.—It is said there is to be a congress at Neufchatel at the end of this month, on the subject of the affairs of Switzerland, and that it is to be attended by the French, Imperial, and Prussian Envoys.

Milan, Oct. 20.—We have received from Lugano the news, that on the arrival in that city, of the officer sent by General Charpentier, chief of the etat-major of the troops of the Italian Republic, to inform the Provisional Government of that Canton, of the dispositions of the First Consul, and the vice-president of the Italian Republic which were in conformity with them, the Government immediately acceded to them, and re-established the former authorities. All the armed force was dissolved.

Havre, Oct. 21.—The approaching arrival of the First Consul, announced here, spreads confidence and hope; it is not doubted that he will be struck with the utility of the works commenced, and of the necessity of completing them speedily. We are assured that the First Consul will make a tour of the whole coast.

Hague, Oct. 22.—Private letters from Petersburg, of the 2d inst. state, that the ministers of France and England, residing in that capital, had presented notes in the names of their respective governments to His Imperial Majesty, in order to engage him to charge himself with the guarantee of Malta, under the Treaty of Amiens.

Ratisbon, Oct. 22.—The extraordinary Deputation of the Empire held yesterday its 18th sitting, and definitively adopted, by a consensus, the general plan of indemnities.—Baron d'Ompteda, the Electoral Minister of Brunswick, received at the same time the official news that the Court of London had made arrangements with the French Government, relative to the stipulations of the plan in favour of the Imperial towns of Bremen and Ham-
burgh.

Ligurian Republic.—Genoa.—Extracts from the Registers of the Senate. Sitting of Aug. 23, 1802.

The Senate of the Ligurian Republic, considering that it is conformable to the ancient institutions of the republic, to consecrate the images of great men who have rendered it illustrious:—Considering that Christopher Columbus discovered the new world, and that Napoleone Buonaparté has pacified the old, and by the labours of his Consulta, extended the limits of Liguria, secured its most important interests, and re-organized its laws, has decreed unanimously that there shall be erected in the vestibule of the national palace, two marble statues, the first representing Buonaparté, the second, Columbus.—(Signed)—*Durazzo.—Lanzola, Sec. Gen.*

Berne, Oct. 25.—Sixteen hundred men, of the 16th demi-brigade, have occupied the city of Basle. The arrival of the French troops has strangely disconcerted the agitators, who a short time before had positively asserted that they would not enter Switzerland. The government has certain infor-

mation that in the Cantons of Argovie and Soleure the people are yet labouring in a counter-revolutionary scheme, and however burdensome the presence of the French troops may be to our country, we cannot dissemble, that without them, we should be still a prey to insurrection and anarchy.—General Ney attended this morning the sitting of the Senate: he manifested the most favourable sentiments to the Helvetic Government, and assured them that he would give them every support in his power to re-establish public tranquillity. The Senate have agreed to the decree which follows. The nomination of the deputies also took place this morning. The choice fell upon the Citizens Ruttiman, Pidou, and Muller-Friedburg, a choice which must be applauded by every wise man.—In the Canton of Zurich, the system of persecution against the patriots, is carried on with the greatest rigour. Citizen Rapp set out yesterday for Basle, whence he will go to Zurich, where he will probably be preceded by some French battalions.—We are assured, that two battalions stationed in the Frickthal, have entered the Canton of Argovie, and that they are directing their march towards Zurich, of which place they are to form the garrison. We may then expect the cessation of those arrests which now daily take place. Citizen Xavier Bronner, the author of some esteemed works, has been lately arrested, and exposed to the insults of the triumphant party. Having proved, that for more than a year, he had taken no part in political discussions, he was liberated, but he has been exiled for ever from the Canton of Zurich.

Decree of the Senate.—Having heard the message of the Executive Council, and also the report of the Interior Committee, considering that by virtue of the proclamation of the First Consul of the French Republic, each Canton may send deputies to Paris to explain their sentiments, upon the means most likely to restore order and tranquillity, and to re-unite all parties; and considering also, that this measure should be regularly executed, in order that the regularity of forms may coincide with their power of delivering their opinions freely, orders,—1st. That the national prefects of the Eighteen Cantons shall convoke, during the first week of November ensuing, on a given day, a meeting of all the members of the Diets of the Cantons of the first of August 1801; and of those who were members of the Cantons on the 2d of April 1802,—2d. These citizens, so united, shall determine whether their respective Cantons ought to send deputies to Paris, in their name, at their expense, and under these circumstances.—They will determine the number that are to be sent, and will make the nominations.—3d. The Senate does not by this measure deprive the Communes of the right of sending deputies, at their own expense, to express their sentiments.—4th. Every person named shall receive from the assembly the act of his nomination, which shall be legalized by the national prefect, and by the secretary of state for foreign affairs.—5th. The deputies shall assemble at Paris, on the 15th of November next. The further regulations which may be necessary for carrying into effect the present decree, are left to the Executive Council.—25th Oct. 1802.—(Signed)—*The Landamman President of the Senate.—Dolder, Lauther, and Muller-Friedburg, secretaries.*

Rouen, Oct. 25.—The prefect of the department of the Lower Seine, has published to-day the fol-

lowing proclamation, which overwhelms with joy the inhabitants of Rouen, who are no longer in doubt of the First Consul's arrival:—Citizens, the First Consul is to arrive in two days among you. It is to him that you are indebted for victory, for peace, for the return of morality, order, and law; it is he, whose activity, equally indefatigable in peace as in war, aspires only to follow one labour with another; who devotes every moment of his life to your prosperity. He has done more than found the empire; he has drawn it from its ruins to raise it with a firm hand to the first rank among powers; and at his voice we have seen burst from those very ruins the sources of a prosperity hitherto unknown.—The name of the hero fills the world. Foreigners hasten to contemplate him from the ends of the earth. Every where, within, without, his words have been received as the oracles of wisdom; he is become the common arbiter of people and kings.—How happy and proud ought you to be to possess him. He comes to enquire your wants and your resources; to revive agriculture, commerce, and those useful arts for which you were formerly renowned.—His journey is a benefit, his presence a treasure; he will cast over this department that eagle eye which embraces the whole of objects, and penetrates at once all the features of them. He will discover for your posterity what would have escaped the rest of mankind.—Enjoy, then this blessing, which so many other departments will envy you. Old men will one day repeat to their children that they saw Buonaparté. All his words will be remembered. Hence you are about to collect grand and touching recollections for futurity.—I have had too many occasions to know your enthusiasm to endeavour to awaken it. I do not prescribe to you any mode for the reception of the First Consul—and, in order that he may meet every where a reception worthy of him, I abandon you to the impulse of your own hearts.—At Rouen, in our Hotel, 24th October.—(Signed)—Beugnot.

Berne, Oct. 26.—The Diet of Schwitz has written a letter, dated the 11th instant, to General Rapp, to express to him their thanks for having listened to the representations of their deputies, Pfyffer and Freuler, who gave him a letter to the First Consul. The following is an extract of the note which Colonel Pfyffer wrote, on the demand of General Rapp, to whom he had given verbal assurances expressive of the sentiments of the Diet with respect to General Rapp.—“The Swiss Diet at Schwitz has charged me to make known to General Rapp, that they are assured the First Consul will abandon, after he receives the letter addressed to him, the fatal impression which has been attempted to be made upon his mind, with respect to the state of anarchy and faction in which he might believe that Switzerland is at present.—If the First Consul persists in fulfilling the verbal menaces which General Rapp has made in his name, of sending 40,000 men into Switzerland, I have the honour to acquaint the General, that we shall yield to force, and that no one thinks of contending with the power of the First Consul; but their remain in our possession, arms which he himself esteems—they are, the justice of our cause, the voice of the people and posterity.—Berne, Oct. 9, 1802, (Signed) Colonel Pfyffer, Member of the Council of state.”—In all places through which the Helvetic Government passed to return to Berne, mi-

litary honours were paid them. Those which were paid them at Berne, were by order of General Rapp. The commandant of the place having refused to give orders for them, he was dismissed, and the command of the place given to Citizen Perrier.—The Diet of Schwitz sits in the open air, in the midst of a square battalion armed with lances, and the Morgenstermen. It has come to a great number of resolutions, which says a Berne journal, we cannot communicate to our readers, on account of the language used against the Helvetic Government.

Basle, Oct. 26.—The French troops which have entered Switzerland have not met with any resistance. All is tranquil in our city, where are at the present moment two French battalions, and the first Helvetic battalion of the line. There prevails, however, a great animosity between the latter, and the free corps of Basle, returned from the army of Bachman.—It appears that the numbers of French troops which have entered Switzerland on different points are not so considerable as was believed.—We are assured even that the different corps have received orders to return to their former garrisons. We know at least positively, that the 50th demi-brigade, which had arrived in the ci-devant Alsace, has received counter-orders, and that it will return, in consequence, to the environs of Mayence.

Paris, Oct. 27.—The Minister of the interior set off yesterday morning for Rouen and Havre.—(Moniteur).—The First Consul was to set off last night for Rouen, with Mademoiselle Buonaparté.—He will visit Havre, Dieppe, and Cherbourg. It is said that his journey will not last above ten days. The Minister of the interior, who set off yesterday, will wait for the First Consul at Rouen, and accompany him on the journey.—An English journal is about to be published in Paris, entitled The Argus; or London reviewed in Paris. The proprietors and editors of this journal, who have arrived from London, announce in their prospectus, that the “nature of their intelligence will enable them to give information respecting England, and anecdotes which the English writers have not hitherto touched upon in any of their journals.”—But the reason they give for their emigration is very remarkable:—“The progressive high price of paper, the enormous taxes imposed in England on all the objects relating to printing, and above all, the constraint placed upon the press at London, have determined them,” adds the prospectus, “to transport their establishment to France, and to publish their journal at Paris instead of London.”

Oct. 29.—The First Consul set out yesterday morning for Rouen, accompanied by Madame Buonaparté. The object of his journey, which will take up ten days, is to inspect the important manufactures of the department of the Lower Seine.

General Andreossi, Ambassador from the republic to his Britannic Majesty, had his audience of leave on the 27th instant.—Moniteur.

An Organic Senatus Consultum passed on the 3d instant, contains the following disposition:—Art. I. During five years, computing from the publication of the present Organic Senatus Consultum, such foreigners as shall render, or who may have rendered important services to the republic, who shall bring into the midst of it talents,

inventions, or useful branches of industry, or who shall form large establishments may, after a year's residence, be admitted to enjoy the right of a French citizen. II. This right shall be confirmed by an Arrêté of the government, founded on the report of the minister of the interior, and adopted with the advice of the Council of State.—III. There shall be delivered to the applicant a certificate of the said arrêté, signed by the Grand Minister of Justice, and stamped with the seal of the republic.—IV. The applicant provided with this certificate shall appear before the municipality of his place of residence, to take his oath of fidelity to the government established by the constitution; his name shall be registered, and a minute drawn up of the administration of the oath.

By another arrêté of the 18th instant, the functions of jurymen are suspended during the present and succeeding year, in all the departments of Piedmont, with those of the Cotes-du-Nord, Morbihan, Vaucluse, the Mouths of the Rhone, the Var, and the Maritime Alps.

Extract from the *Moniteur* of the 29th Oct.—A part of the English journalists remain still a prey to discord; every line which they print is marked with blood. They endeavour, with loud cries, to excite civil war in the bosom of the Western Nation, happily restored to peace. All their reasoning, all their hypotheses turn on the two following points:—

1st. To invent grievances against France.

2d. To create to themselves allies with equal liberality, and thus to give their passions auxiliaries among the great nations of the Continent.

Their grievances at present chiefly are the affairs of Switzerland, the happy issue of which excites their jealous fury. It appears that it would have suited their passions much better, if that unhappy nation had been torn by civil war, and if the neighbouring powers, suffering themselves to be hurried away by the empire of circumstances, had again disturbed the harmony of the Continent.—The proclamation of Vendémiaire 10*, (October 2), dissolved the knot of all these intrigues.*

They appeal to the treaty of Luneville, which secures the existence of the Helvetic Republic, but it is to secure this existence, that the interference of France is indispensably necessary. Besides, of all the powers of Europe, the only one which has no right to appeal to the treaty of Luneville, is England, since it alone refused to acknowledge the Helvetic Republic. It also would not acknowledge the Italian Republic, the Liguarian Republic, and the King of Tuscany. We know that for a year past, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances of the French government, it has persisted in the same refusal in regard to these states, and the continental arrangements stipulated by the treaty of Luneville. England has no diplomatic agents, either at Berne, Milan, Genoa, or Florence.

The English government does not complain, and indeed cannot complain of what takes place in countries, the political existence of which it does not acknowledge, and with which it maintains no public relations.

The affairs of Germany excite in a still livelier manner the jealousy of that faction of periodical writers—and the bold and generous conduct which

has gained to Russia and France the thanks of all the countries, all the towns, and all the princes of Germany, is a subject of grievance to these instigators of trouble.

The King of England has acknowledged all the arrangements of Germany, he has adhered to them.—It is sufficient, on this subject, to read the vote of his minister at the Diet of Ratisbon. The British cabinet, therefore, satisfied with having seen all its interests taken into consideration, and consulted, makes no kind of complaint on this subject.

The English libellists state, that the feeling expressed by the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, is not that of the English nation. But what other title could an insular power have to interfere in the affairs of Germany; and to what abject state would Russia, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria, and the Houses of Wurtemberg, Baden, Hesse Cassel, and the French Republic, be reduced, if they could not negotiate, conclude, and arrange their interests as neighbours, (*interets limitrophes*) without the consent of a power which has as little to do with these interests as with our diplomatic law! A power which alone disowns the rights of independent nations on the seas.—The relations between France and England are the treaty of Amiens—the whole treaty of Amiens—nothing but the treaty of Amiens.—[*Les Relations de la France et de l'Angleterre, sont le traité d'Amiens—tout le traité d'Amiens—rien que le traité d'Amiens.*]†

The allies which the party writers of London create to themselves, on the Continent, as well as their grievances, happily do not exist, but in their disordered imaginations, and in the passions of hatred and jealousy, by which they are tormented. They invoke, with all their wishes, the troops of Austria; they form and collect armies in the Tyrol, but Thugus is no more, and his Majesty the Emperor well knows, that if the power of Austria has been twice led to the brink of the precipice, it was because it twice abandoned itself to these perfidious instigations.

Far from sacrificing the blood of its subjects, which are so dear to it, the court of Vienna, immersed in debt by the payment which, with extreme good faith, it has made to England of the subsidies it received during the first three campaigns, is employed solely in lessening its expenses. Instead of repaying the money it expended for the cause of the English government, it might, with perfect justice, demand from that power 5 or 600 millions as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. Kaunitz said, in the middle of the last century, to a minister of the King of Prussia, who came to have an audience of leave, "The King your master will one day know what a burden the alliance of England is." And if Prussia saw its frontiers invaded, its capital plundered, without sinking in utter ruin, it was indebted for it to that prince of glorious memory, and to that army which will long be quoted as a model.

Do we not hear also these furious journalists in-

† There perhaps might be another meaning given to the clause "the whole of the treaty of Amiens." It might perhaps bear the sense that the relations of England and France are completely comprised in the treaty. Indeed we think that sense agrees best with the context.

* We suppose this should be the 30th Sept.

voking the aid of the Russian armies? But have these Russian armies forgotten, that exposed and abandoned in the marshes of Holland, they were disowned in England; and in contempt of the rights of nations, they were not included in the exchange of prisoners. But will not the Russians, the Swedes, and Danes, long preserve the remembrance of those unheard-of pretensions which occasioned the massacres of Copenhagen?

It is beyond a doubt, and the Continent is fully convinced of it, that the first of benefits, the dearest of interests, is peace. It knows too well that a continental war would have no other effect than that of concentrating all the riches of commerce and all the colonies of the world in the hand of one nation.

Russia and France united by reciprocal esteem, by common interests, by a firm desire to maintain the peace of the Continent, will restrain, notwithstanding all their efforts, these restless spirits, whose turbulent policy inspires the English Gazettes, if the influence of their libels should be able to produce a change in the prudent ministry by which Great-Britain is governed.

Can any continental power be mentioned for a hundred years back, which having deviated from the principles of sound policy, did not justify the profound reflection of Kaunitz?

If the King of the Two Sicilies twice saw his territories invaded, and his capital in the power of the French; if the Elector of Bavaria twice saw the same scene renewed in his states; if the King of Sardinia has ceased to reign in Savoy and Piedmont; if the house of Orange has lost the Stadtholdership; if the Oligarchy of Berne and of Genoa has seen its influence vanish; and if Portugal has beheld its provinces covered with troops ready to conquer them, were they not all indebted for these misfortunes to the alliance of England?

The peace of Europe is firmly established, and certainly no cabinet wishes to disturb it; but if it should happen that individuals, enemies to mankind and to the tranquillity of the world, should be able to obtain any credit in the British cabinet, they would not succeed in preventing all the good that the two nations have a right to expect from their state of peace, and from their new relations.

In a word, the French people are not ignorant that a great mass of jealousy is excited, and that dissensions, either intestine or foreign, will for a long time be fomented against her. She therefore constantly remains in that attitude which the Athenians gave to Minerva—a helmet on her head, and her lance couched.—Nothing will ever be obtained from her by threats: fear has no power over the hearts of the brave!

DOMESTIC.

On Wednesday the 3d instant, His Majesty held a levee at St. James's. The presentations were.—The Rev. Dr. Barton, who had the honour to kiss the King's hand, on being appointed Prebend of the See of Canterbury, by his Grace the Archbishop.—Earl Macartney, on his arrival from Ireland.—General Sir George Yonge, on his arrival from the Cape of Good Hope.—Lieutenant-Colonel Slater Rebow, of the second regiment of life-guards, by Lord Cathcart, on his promotion.—Governor Prescott took leave of the King, on his setting off for the West-Indies.—The Hon. Mr.

Peter Burrel, second son of Lord Gwydir, on his return from his travels.

STOCKS.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THUR.	FRI.
Bank Stock. 180½	—	—	180	180	—	—
3 pr. C.R. An. 67½	—	—	67	67	—	—
3 per C. Con. 68½	—	—	67½	67½	—	—
4 pr C. Cons. 83½	—	—	83	83½	—	—
5 pr Ct. Ann. 100½	—	—	100½	100½	—	—
Bank L. Ann. 19½	—	—	19½	19½	—	—
D ^s S. 1778 & 9 4½	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 per Ct. 1797 99½	—	—	99½	99½	—	—
Omnium ... 9½ dis	—	—	10 dis	10 dis	—	—

LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C.F. 11 3	2 us.	LEGHORN 51½
D ^s , at sight 11 1	—	NAPLES 43½
ROTTERDAM 11 4	2 us.	GENOA 47
HAMBURG 33 5	2½ us.	VENICE, 54 livres piccole
ALTONA.... 33 6	2½ us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day 23 17	—	LISBON 68
PARIS..... 24 4	2 us.	OPORTO 68
BOURDEAUX, 24 5	—	DUBLIN 12
CADIZ 36	eff.	BILBOA 36½ D ^s
MADRID .. 36½ effective	—	Agio, bank on Hol. p.

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat pr q. 42s to 62s	Hops per cwt. 200s to 240s
Rye. 33 .. 36	Hay per load. 84 .. 140
Barley. 22 .. 27	Beef, per stone 4s. to 5s.
Malt 44 .. 48	Mutton 5s. od. to 6s. od.
Oats 15 .. 24	Veal 5s. od. to 6s. 4d.
Pease (white).... 48 .. 52	Pork 5s. od. to 6s. od.
Beans (horse).... 33 .. 37	Tallow 4s. 2½d.
Flour per sack .. 50 .. 54	Av. of Sugar pr cw 33s. 5½d
Seconds 45 .. 50	Salt, per Bushel 13s. 10d.
Coals per chal. 46 .. 50	Bread 10d the Quar. Loaf.

Days.	M's age	Weather, near Guildford.	Winds.		Barom. Inch.		Ther. Deg.	
			M.	A.	M.	A.	M.	A.
28		Fair.	SE	SE	29,3	29,3	46	52
29		Fine.	SW	SW	29,2	29,15	48	53,5
30		Sho. Fine.	S	S	29,19	29,19	46	51
31		Rain.	ESE	E	29,25	29,3	45	48
1		Fair.	W	W	29,38	29,35	43	49
2		Fair Rain	NE	NE	29,36	29,37	43	47
3	1	Frost Fair	W	W	29,4	29,4	36	45,5

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

By a reference to our Public Papers (see p. 559), it will be seen, that a treaty has been entered into by France, Prussia, and Bavaria, the object of which is, to compel the Emperor to accept of the terms of partition, dictated by the declaration of Russia and France, and by their "supplementary plan of indemnities." We think, the Emperor will submit, an opinion which is much strengthened by that of our correspondent Svenska (p. 550), who, though, perhaps, rather too peremptory, on certain points, has discovered great sagacity as to the political views and measures of the powers on the Continent. The cabinet of Vienna is badly constituted; it is made up of that sort of mind, which is influenced by little, paltry, selfish considerations; it is made up of Hawkesburies and Addingtons. A cer-

tain pompous theatrical tone marks all the negotiations of M. de Cobenzel; but, it is a hollow sound, which soon dies away, and leaves not the smallest effect upon the hearer. The Emperor, after making a shew of resistance; after preserving, for a while, the attitude of an Emperor of Germany, will yield to the insolent commands of his oppressors; a just punishment, perhaps, for having abandoned himself to the councils of weak and selfish men.

The people of this country, with that sort of wilful blindness which has marked all the nations that have, one after another, submitted to the yoke of France, affect to perceive something like "a compromise" between Buonaparté and the Swiss patriots. A compromise!!! Shame, shame on the inventors of the paltry subterfuge! The Helvetic government, that is to say, Buonaparté's government, is re-established at Berne; the Diet of Schwitz (which "sits in open air") has signified to Citizen Rapp, that if the French troops enter Switzerland, the patriots must yield; and the French troops have entered Switzerland. Buonaparté's proclamation has been obeyed in every respect whatsoever. There is not one of his commands, which has not been fulfilled with scrupulous exactness. Deputies are nominated to go to Paris to learn his further pleasure. And, this is called a *compromise*! Yes, much about such a compromise as the Hawkesburies will, if we are not much mistaken, make with General Andreossi, whose approach has already thrown them into a dreadful trepidation. No; there has been no *compromise* in Switzerland. The Swiss have again yielded implicit submission to the government set over them by the French, the government which we left in Switzerland at the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens. Buonaparté does not mean to incorporate that country with France: such a measure would not be for the interest of the latter: her views are much better assisted by giving to the surrounding states a *nominal independence*, in virtue of which they may be either *neutrals* or *belligerents*, as it best suits her purpose: in the former capacity they may serve her as a rampart, in the latter as a forlorn hope. As *independent* states, they will be to her, as Dr. Laurence observed in the debate on the treaty, both *feelers* and *claws*, which they could not be, were they formally united to her. Piedmont and Belgium are, indeed, so united; but they are covered by other nominally independent states, the Ligurian, the Italian, and the Batavian republics, other *feelers* and other *claws*.

There has been an insurrection in the city and canton of Lugano. The people, taking advantage of the absence of French troops, ejected the tyrants whom their conquerors had set over them, and formed a provisional government. But, on the 20th ultimo, news had been received at Milan, the moment the "*dispositions*" of Buonaparté were signified to the "*insurgents*", they were acceded to, the provisional government was put down, the former one re-established, and all who had taken up arms were disarmed.

In France, four provinces have been put under martial law; that is to say, under martial law of a more rigorous description than that which prevails over the country in general. The *juries*, as they are called, have, in these provinces, been suspended, and special tribunals, *alias*, courts-martial, established in their stead. These courts, by which, men are accused, tried, and executed, in the space of two hours, have been erected for the sole purpose of extirpating the last remains of the brave royalists, *twelve hundred* of whom have, in one way or another, been cut off since the signature of the preliminary treaty! These gallant men have fallen a sacrifice to their loyalty, and to their confidence in the British government. Their blood is upon the head of this nation: and it never yet has happened, that such a crime went unpunished. Not content with deserting the royalists, with leaving those who are in France to perish by the knife, and those who are in England to perish with hunger, the *ministerial prints* have lately begun to revile them, to accuse them of perfidy, and to endeavour to expose them to public hatred and resentment. Such baseness, such unheard of cruelty and ingratitude, *must be punished*: it must recoil upon the nation that is guilty of it. Desperate as is the situation of the Vandeian royalists, surrounded as they are with dangers, steeped as they are in poverty, we, for our parts, would ten thousand times sooner partake in their fortune and their fate, than in those of the men by whom they have been deserted.

By a reference to page 563, it will be seen, that, while the gibbet and the knife are busy on one side of the Seine, the Consul, Lord Hawkesbury's friend, the First Consul, is making his progress on the other, over paths strewed with flowers, and accompanied with every outward mark of love and admiration. Our wise-acres have consoled themselves with the hope, that he was *afraid to stir from Paris*, just as they, some time ago, hoped he was like to die.—"Is Phillip dead?" —No, but he's very sick.—What is it to

"you, whether Phillip be dead or not? "Were Phillip to die to-morrow, your cowardice would raise up another to supply his place."—We look for hope in any thing but our own exertions. Insurrections in Switzerland, plots in Holland, changes of ministry in Russia, discontents of the generals at Paris, any thing but what depends on *ourselves*. If we are driven from all these sources of hope, and are obliged to look at home, we fly to our manufactures, and commerce, and constitution, to our "capital, credit, and confidence;" and, if these should fail us, our last resource is, our "salt water girdle," and "the wooden walls of old England." We never think, we will not think, we are afraid to think, about fighting the French upon the coast of Suffolk or Sussex; but we must think about this, and we must do it too, and with success, or we must become slaves to Buonaparté. "The treaty of Amiens, the whole treaty of Amiens, and nothing but the treaty of Amiens," has severed us completely from the Continent, and has left the French empire, consisting of seventy-five millions of souls, to fall upon us with its undivided weight. Great and terrible as it is we must meet it: it may crush us, but we cannot get out of its way.

The article (see p. 565.) extracted from the *Moniteur*, may certainly be regarded as a manifesto of the French government. The excellent answer to it, which we have (see p. 554.) taken from the *Morning Chronicle*, will preclude the necessity of any comments of our own on the subject. But we cannot help remarking, that the manifesto expresses no more than what every one anticipated as the doctrine naturally growing out of the Treaty of Amiens. In that treaty we voluntarily consented to be banished from the continent. The ministry were applauded by a vote of the late parliament, by a mob-like majority, they were applauded for making that treaty; and what right have we now to complain, that Buonaparté tells us that we shall adhere to it? For us who *disapproved* of the treaty, there is, indeed, some room for reply, as individuals, but not as members of the British public, who, having sanctioned the Treaty of Amiens, by every possible demonstration of joy, have no right to complain that its principles are inculcated and enforced.

The great and general topic of conversation and inquiry is, *whether we shall have peace or war*. We gave our opinion, in our last sheet (p. 535, 536), to which we beg leave to refer the reader. We supposed,

that Buonaparté would give up the shadow, while he would hold fast the substance. In enumerating the reasons why the present state of things was likely to continue for some time, we observed, that Russia having so heartily joined with France would operate as a great check to resistance on the part of England; and, we thought, that Buonaparté, unless he was quite prepared for an open attack on us, would not be disposed to hasten a state of things, which must infallibly displace the present pliable ministry.—"Any change of men, without a change of measures and of principles, would not, indeed, be greatly injurious to his [Buonaparté's] projects; but, he must be well persuaded, that no set of men are less likely to oppose his will, than those from whose trembling hands he extorted the release of Napper Tandy; a persuasion, which will probably induce him to enable them to meet the parliament with something like a promise of the continuation of the "BLESSINGS of peace"—This was our opinion given on the 25th ultimo; how far it is confirmed by the following curious paragraph in the French manifesto, which arrived on the 2d instant, let the reader determine: "Russia and France, united by reciprocal esteem, by interests which are common to both, by a firm resolution to preserve peace on the Continent, will restrain, in spite of themselves, those restless spirits, whose turbulent politics inspire the English newspapers, if, by the influence of their libels, they should ever succeed in displacing the PRUDENT MINISTRY who now govern Great-Britain." We have observed, too, that since this manifesto arrived, the ministerial prints have softened their tone. That which fires with indignation in the hearts of other men, tends to cool the passions of the Addingtons and Hawkesburys. "The PRUDENT MINISTRY who now govern Great-Britain!" and that from the lips of Buonaparté too! From the Chief of the "Western Nation!" From him who alone can preserve to us the "blessings of peace," and who, if he will, can raise *Omnium to par!*—We repeat it, because it is a fact well worth attention, that since the arrival of this eulogium on the ministry, the language of their official print has totally changed. A few days ago, it breathed nothing but war: it would listen to nothing short of a retention of our conquest, till Buonaparté had relinquished his encroachments; but now, behold, it trusts, that "the King's ministers will be moderate

—that, if any compromise can be made with respect to *the conquests we still retain*, re-serving to us even less than our just demands, it trusts they will be disposed to evince their moderation by accepting such a compromise, rather than have recourse to the DREADFUL alternative of war.—This is now the language of the “prudent ministry who govern Great-Britain;” the “safe politicians;” the men “with an hereditary disposition to office.” They have long been aware of a design to supplant them: they know, that there is another set of statesmen who are working day and night to prevail on Mr. Pitt to cut off the thread of their existence; but with Buonaparté at their back, they might bid defiance to the fatal sisters themselves.

But, still it seems difficult to recede. Orders are dispatched to retain the conquests not already restored. The ministers must adhere to the resolution which dictated this measure, or Buonaparté must relinquish his encroachments, or else we are plunged deeper and deeper into disgrace. In fact, if we give up the point, after this shew of resistance, we at once take our rank along with Holland and Spain.

That we have the power of retaining our conquests, no one can doubt; and, as to right, we think nothing need be added to what we said in our last sheet (p. 535), nor have WE any scruples as to the expedience; but it is to be feared (or rather, for their own sakes, to be hoped) that *the makers and defenders of the peace* have great, if not insurmountable, scruples, on this head. We remember, that, when, in the debate of the 29th October, 1801, Mr. WINDHAM insisted, that we should have retained our conquests “as some sort of balance against the aggrandisement of France on the Continent,” the sapient Mr. Addington answered, with just such a simpering sneer as you perceive in the face of Malvolio, when he comes forth in his yellow stockings and cross-garters, “that the right hon. gentleman was very much mistaken in supposing, that the retaining of our conquests was the most effectual way to counterbalance the aggrandisement of France. He thought, on the contrary, that the relinquishing what we had conquered, was the ONLY PLEDGE FOR OUR SECURITY.” And this, this is the minister who is now actually retaining those very conquests, on no other ground than that they are necessary “to balance against the aggrandisement of France!” But, it would be base and cowardly in the last de-

gree, were we, on this occasion, to quote Mr. Addington, without adverting to what was said by Mr. PITT*. “My right hon. friend [Mr. Windham] says, that we ought to have retained something to counterbalance the aggrandisement of France, and that if she chose to treat upon the basis of *uti possidetis*, we ought to have insisted upon doing the same. He says that this treaty transfers to France all that she wanted to secure to herself—universal empire; and that ministers, in signing it in a rash and evil hour, signed the death-warrant of their country. Sir, had we retained all that we agree to restore, I deny, that from the danger dreaded by the right hon. gentleman, we should have been, thereby, at all secured. The ceded islands were not unimportant to our commerce, were not unimportant to our finance; but would they have maintained the integrity of Naples, of Portugal, or of Sardinia? would they have taken from the French one yard of the immense line of coast which causes such dismay? I shall never be found, upon this occasion, to urge the plea of necessity. We are far, indeed, from the end of our resources, and were our independence threatened, the means we have in store ought not to be spared. But they would truly be miserably employed if they were lavished on any foolish plan of colonial aggrandisement, instead of being reserved to wind up the expenses of a necessary war, and to enable us to make the same exertions again when our honour and true interests are at stake. Because France has gained large tracts of territory from third powers, does it follow that after she has made peace with these powers, she ought to give us an equivalent? It would, indeed, sound strange, if, from the gigantic power of the enemy, you should insist upon her relinquishing her conquests. Would any enlightened statesman say to a foreign power, *you are so formidable, that you exceedingly alarm us, and you must, therefore, let us keep a share of your possessions to make us equal*. The views of my right hon. friend might regulate a wish, but not a measure. He may pray, but cannot expect to be heard.” Unfortunately for the country, Mr. Windham and his friends were not heard. Their views, however, which, at that time, were only fit to regulate a wish, have now, when adopted by the “safe politicians,” by “the

* In the debate of November 3d, 1801.

arudent ministers," regulated a measure, and such a measure, too, as is, whether justifiable or not, a direct contravention, an obstruction to the fulfilment, of the treaty, even the Treaty of Amiens!

The *true balance* against the territorial and political aggrandizement of France was, by Mr. Addington, stated to consist in "the preservation of our constitution, in our capital and industry, and in the husbanding of our resources." Lord Hawkesbury expressed the same meaning in three alliterative words: "*capital, credit, and confidence*," on which he rang the changes till the nation was tired of the sound. Lord Castlereagh thought our security to consist in *giving up* colonies to Buonaparté, or, as Mr. Sheridan expressed it, in setting the wild young man up in trade. It would, however, be doing great injustice to the defenders of the peace to quote some of them, on this head, to the exclusion of others; for there was not one of them, who made a speech of ten sentences, who did not utter precisely the same sentiment, and almost in the very same words, "We have nothing to fear from the aggrandizement of France. However colossal her power may be, our best means of defence will be found in the fruits of our industry, in our commercial wealth, in our national credit, and in the preservation of our inestimable constitution." This was the stave, which Mr. PITT gave out on the 3d of November, and which the well-trained choir most harmoniously chaunted to the end of the session. Well, then, the "*true balance*" against the aggrandizement of France *still exists in all its glory*. We are as *industrious* as ever, and, to any one who has the patience of Job, Mr. Chalmers or Sir Frederick Eden will prove, by rules of "moral arithmetic," that the soldiers who have returned to the loom weave more cloth now, than they did while they were using the musket, that, therefore, they are more profitable to the state, and that, as money is the sinews of war, or (to cite a sententious maxim of lord Auckland) as "war is a science of money," and as "that side must first quit the field, whose exchequer first fails," the country derives greater security from the weaver than from the soldier, from the loom than from the musket. Our credit too is yet unshaken. Our commercial wealth is as great as ever; nay, if the government statement respecting the Custom-house re-

turns be correct, it is much greater than ever; and, blessed be God, our constitution remains unimpaired, by any thing, at least, that has happened since the treaty of Amiens. What are we afraid of, then? The means of defence, which were so set France, "however colossal her power," at defiance, are all in our possession, and within ourselves. Why, then, do we now seek for security in extraneous means; and in those very means, too, which both the late and present minister declared to be not only inefficient for the purpose, but calculated to have an effect precisely the contrary to that which they now are expected to produce?—We are reluctantly compelled to break off.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE, 1802.

Downing-street, October 27, 1802.—The King has been pleased to approve of the appointment of Don Miguel Larrea to be his Catholic Majesty's Consul-General in the United Kingdom of Great-Britain and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 20.—The King has been pleased to grant unto the Right Hon. George Lord Keith, Knight of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, Admiral of the Blue Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet, and Commander in Chief of His Majesty's ships and vessels in the Mediterranean, His royal license and permission to receive and wear the badge of the Order of the Crescent, transmitted to his Lordship by the Grand Signior; and also to order, that this His Majesty's royal concession and declaration, together with the relative documents, be registered in His College of Arms.

BANKRUPTS.

Harrison, William, the younger, Newport-street, St. Martin's in the Fields, commission agent broker.—Schotel, Bartholomew, Mansion-house-st. merchant.—Etherington, David, York, merchant.—Haymes, Matthew, Newington, Surry, haberdasher.—Jones, David, Commerce-row, Surrey, baker.—Gale, Curwen, Tower-hill, merchant.—Gilman, Thomas, Norwich, linen-draper.—Gill, William, Wakefield, Yorkshire, ironmonger.—Miller, John, Abbey, Cumberland, grocer.

Next week TWO SHEETS will be published. The concluding letter to Lord Hawkesbury.—A letter from a Fellow of the Royal Society to the rest of that Body, on the subject of Sir Joseph Banks's Letter to the National Institute, as connected with their choice at the ensuing election.—Together with several other important articles, oblige us to publish a double sheet.